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224 older people. This tabu applied not only to his first kill, but continued until he was full grown, twenty-five or thirty. Should he eat it blood might run from his mouth until he died, or at least he would never kill anything more. There was no ceremonial ter-
[171] mination of the tabu. This prohibition is not an unfamiliar provision but usually extends only to the first kill.[13]

262 All three local varieties of rabbits were eaten: jackrabbits (akau'l,ᵃ), cottontail (xal,ᵃau'), and the little chamissa or blue rabbit (xal,ᵃau' ĭnyamtackwerᵃ, "made slender by the sun rabbit"). Cottontails could be eaten by any one, but the others were held "poisonous." Chamissa was dangerous to little children, who therefore might not eat it. Jackrabbits were also somewhat "poisonous" for adults, but they nevertheless ate them.

[773] There is a confusion here, because according to myth the cottontail was considered poisonous, the others derivatively from the cottontail. In handling the raw flesh of jackrabbits they carefully avoided letting the least drop of blood splash on them, else
224 [753] they would sicken. And if a hair of this rabbit got into one's eye, he would be stricken blind.

Jackrabbits were sought rather than the smaller species. They were hunted chiefly in summer, when they were fattest, near where the women were at work gathering mesquite. They were exceptionally plentiful in the valley: a hunter returned from a day's hunt with at least four or five, sometimes as many as ten.
[251] The excess beyond the day's needs were skinned, opened, and hung to dry on the house beams.

There was a saying (but it was regarded as no more than a saying) that when a man had set a day for hunting jackrabbits and it turned out cloudy, it was a sign he had been incontinent.

Although rabbit hunting was for the most part individual, organized drives were sometimes decided on at evening meetings. One man was chosen as leader (xalyaaui'ck, "planner of rabbit killing"), who assigned men to their positions. Nets were set in

[13] Pima, Havasupai, Kaibab, Paviotso, Shasta, Klamath (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 191; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 324; *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 168). The Maricopa extended tabu holds for the Kaibab Paiute: boys are forbidden to eat jackrabbits they themselves kill (Sapir, *Paiute Song Recitative*, p. 466).

fish was cooked by men; women, however, cooked deer and mountain sheep flesh. The reason is not apparent. All small game and [252] [462]

Large mountain turtles (kapĕ't), about a foot across, were eaten; also by Papago and Yavapai according to my informant. These were usually baked in ashes; sometimes boiled. The shells were not used for any purpose. [262] [171] [237]

Honey was occasionally obtained from the flower stalks of mescal, but these contain very little. This was the product of large bees (mŭspo'kwĭni'l,ȧ, "black bee"). The classification of "bees" is rather interesting: working bees were called flies (xălyȧsmo"kwĭlyȧvi'na); another bee with a yellow back (not a hornet) was mŭspo'cĭlyȧmŏ'kkȧkwĭ'sĭc; a fourth variety, resembling a wasp, was mŭspo'kwĭsĭ'c, "yellow bee." The nests of working bees were found and the insects killed individually, but their honey was not eaten. 222 [825]

A worm, called ȧmĕ' (more probably a caterpillar, since it was said to have a horn on each end) was caught, boiled, dried, and eaten.[17] They caught them in their hands in the spring and late autumn. There was a peculiar way of catching them: with one hand they caught the beast, broke off the end with the thumb nail, squeezed it out, and inserted it between the other fingers of the same hand. In some fashion they braided long strings of these, perhaps because the "worm" coiled around its fellows. Then they boiled and dried them. They were eaten dry or boiled. Dried "worms" were also heated in warm water and fried. The finger tips got sore gathering them. [252] [252]

Pets (n,ȧxa'tk, "my dog," any pet) may be conveniently described here. These were dogs and various birds. The chicken hawk was perhaps the sole bird deliberately excluded, because one who handled it would "get sick in the lungs." Turkeys were not pets. 231 [753]

Dogs (xatk) were said to be like present-day dogs; some black, others spotted. They were called by whistling or by calling their names. Several expressions were recorded: kaθi'k, kaθi'k, "come, come," govŭna'l,ŭm, "get out, go away," sĭkiyĭ'mdĭk, "go

[17] Said to travel rapidly. These are undoubtedly the same as the Pima ma'kŭm (*ibid.*, p. 81). [825]

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Yuma; Maricopa
Mohave; Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

satisfied with the killing and scalping of a single enemy. They preferred, if possible, to scalp their victim alive: together they rushed the man selected, sat on him, and cut away the scalp. It was sometimes taken from the dead, but "they do not call that a brave deed." Immediately it was thrown into the air and allowed to fall to earth. (It was not kicked in Yuma fashion and the singing and dancing which Cocopa and Yuma indulge in at this point were absent.)

As soon as they were ready to return one of the younger lads was dispatched with the news, whereupon everyone gathered at the meeting house to await them. Some of the old people might join in expressing their happiness by such songs as Ivâʊo' and Mountain Killdeer.

Only a man who had dreamed of it could scalp, hence the taking of a single scalp was sufficient to establish the fulfillment of his dream. His dreams were of winning battles against fearful animals. If he had not the requisite dream, no man, no matter how brave, would take a scalp. There was a saying that if he had not dreamed but forced himself to take a scalp, the dead enemy would grin, so that he would flee in fear. Scalps were exceptionally dangerous: they caused paralysis unless those that took them or handled them underwent the purification described below.

The scalps taken were those with long fine hair: not all the slain were scalped. They took the whole skin of the upper half of the head cut away just below [*sic*] the eyes and above the ears. (The scalp was hieʳʊau'g, "hair taken.") Sometimes the ears were taken separately, but not the whole head nor other parts of the body.

Dead foemen were eaten by the Yavapai, according to Kutox; a practice quite willingly corroborated by Mr. E. W. Gifford's Southeastern Yavapai informant[27] and recorded by Dr. Kroeber for the more northerly Yavapai. The Maricopa and Halchidhoma never did (nor, according to Kutox's knowledge, the Yuma and Mohave), not so much because of repugnance as because

[27] Who, however, accused the Maricopa of the practice (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 186).

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sent travelling over the mountains, but killed never an enemy. The Yavapai had come down and killed some whites and their mules, taken the harness and burned the wagons. The Pima-Maricopa went to Fort McDowell, where they stayed a year looking for Yavapai. They came over to Sacate near the Maricopa villages where they heard Yavapai were stealing horses.

They pursued the Yavapai. There were three of them, armed one with a gun, another a bow, the third a sword. Some followed their tracks directly northward toward the mountains. Others, a large number including the boy Kutox, circled to get ahead of them.

The three Yavapai walked along side by side. When someone rushed at them, they turned to face him and the one with the gun made as though to shoot. Those following came up with them first, but no one dared go close. They continued following. Toward morning the three came to where Kutox's party was. Kutox started toward them to see if he could not beat one down. The man with the gun was facing those following, so he thought he would chance it. But as he drew near, the bowman turned on him; so he retreated. The one with the sword disappeared; perhaps crawled under a bush. The man with the gun walked backward, holding off his pursuers, so they kept trying for the bowman. Kutox tried again. Just as he got close, someone at a distance shot the Yavapai. He tried to rise, but Kutox dismounted and hit him on the head with a stone, killing him. (Because of this Kutox would have had to undergo purification when he returned, so he gave the credit to the one who had shot the Yavapai, "rather than starve", he said.[28]) This was at early dawn.

They knew two had escaped, so they scattered to search. Kutox felt very sleepy. He came close to a giant cactus, which he mistook for an enemy. He was afraid, so he dismounted and ran away. This has always been told as a joke on him.

PURIFICATION

R 783 727

The theme that physical contact with the enemy was defiling threads through all the proceedings that follow on the return of the war party. The enemy, his scalp, his women and children who were made captives were all extremely dangerous. They were "diseased"; they brought sickness to such as touched them; they had potentialities for harm of a magical order. Once struck down, the very sight of the enemy must be hurriedly avoided. Even the mountains of his land, spiritually his in a literal sense, must no longer be looked on. This was clearly not for fear of the dead as such, for they had no comparable strong concern for their own dead, but because the enemy had maleficent powers on his side. All persons and things that had had intimate contact with him must undergo a stringent rite of purification (mata-

R [753]

[28] Gifford recorded the same yielding of credit among the Cocopa. The one who took the credit had to undergo purification (Cocopa Ms).

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727 783 RAČ'k): those who had slain an enemy, those who had taken scalps or captives, and the captives, the scalps, and their permanent keeper. The sentiment was not foreign in other fields of Maricopa thought. Eagle feathers were not casually gathered: they had to be purified by a shaman before they could be used. One had to tread softly, speak circumspectly, move slowly, where mountain sheep were concerned.

It is not wholly clear that such sentiments held with respect to all enemies. All references to the necessity for purification I gathered were to the Yavapai and Apache: not once during the more numerous references to the Yuma and Mohave was it mentioned. Unfortunately I neglected to direct questions to the point.

346 727 783 When the war party was ready to return from the mountains, one of the younger boys was sent ahead to carry news that they had killed the enemy. Some of the men at home then hastily built huts in preparation for their coming. These were close to the Gila at some distance from the village. They were like those built for the girls' puberty rites, with their openings always to the east. It was also essential that they stand in a row, but the direction of the row was immaterial. One hut was built for each man who had killed an enemy, taken his scalp, or made a captive.

727 783 Such men did not return with the main group of warriors, but followed. They walked slowly in single file and preserved an absolute silence. Sometimes the warriors ahead would try to scare them, to shake them from this course, but the killers always marched on slowly. Even when the whole group stopped for the night, these men camped at a distance.

[302] Before they started home, these men twisted their hair into a knot behind, and thrust into it some sharpened twigs of ivusi, a medicinal plant, as hairpins. Another such stick for a scratcher was stuck into the side hair. If they used their fingers, their [413] hands would get sore. This scratcher was about six inches in length: to the butt a bundle of feathers (for wiping the face) was [827] attached by a short willow bark cord. These men must not spit [753] on the ground but into the middle of a bush, because the spirit of the enemy was following and would breathe it up, causing them to fall sick.

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Maricopa
Mohave

721 783 ate when the family did, but during all his waking hours for the next four days he maintained this position. From time to time other men would visit to see if they could make him laugh at their remarks. Each of these days he also bathed before dawn. This terminated the purification. "By the end of these twenty days, he was so thin as to be scarcely recognizable." The whole performance had to be gone through should he again kill an enemy.

CAPTIVES

727 Not many captives seem to have been taken. This was certainly not an objective of their warfare. Small boys were made captive, less commonly girls and women, but larger lads were killed because, being able to escape, they might lead the enemy against their captors. Women were seldom taken for the same reason. When they were captured, they were always hurried off [439] to sell in Mexico. Children were usually kept until they too were [567] old enough to sell.

Captives were thought to carry sickness which would fall on [753] the captor unless he got rid of them or they were purified. A child was immediately handed over to an older man to rear. Women and girls were given into the custody of old men, who, since they had not much longer to live, might chance the danger of keeping them. As with the Mohave, who had the identical reason,[29] it seems fairly certain that captive women were not violated.

727 783 Purification for the captive was much like that of the captor. The child was given very little food and made to bathe and put mud over his hair for the twenty days. It was kept away from the family for this period; made to sleep in a separate part of the dwelling, and they dared not eat from the same bowl with it.

727 563 Children were sometimes kept for life, reared by the men they had been given to as members of their families. The owner's daughter might interpose on behalf of a little girl of whom she grew fond. Boys were brought up with the thought that ultimately they would serve as guides and fight against their own

[29] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 752.

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwami

727 [787] [753] But if an enemy was doomed, he would hear the scalps weeping. Why he slept with them is not clear: "they put the pot at the old man's head because if it was elsewhere, the scalps might act as enemies and make him sick." The jar containing these trophies remained permanently in this spot, although he no longer slept with it.

535 727 The scalp dance might be repeated at any time, presumably as much for entertainment as for any other reason, taking exactly the same form. At their request the old man would bring out the scalps, wash and dress the hair; and again bathe and sleep with them for four days. They never asked directly but said, "Dress up our visitors and let them visit us."

727 [171] Scalps were never used to bring rain nor to cure the sickness they caused, as by the Pima,[32] nor were they carried to war in Yuma fashion.

THE SIB SYSTEM

614 [553] The Maricopa and the allied Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai shared a single system of sibs (clans) of the type established for other lower Colorado Yumans by Kroeber.[33] These were patrilinear, definitely named groups, strictly exogamous, and "totemic." They not only bore names the same as or analogous to those on the lower Colorado, but these tribes shared the peculiar habit of naming women of the sib for the totems in an indirect fashion. Further, the sib system was definitely integrated with the calendar of months and hence with the economic round. There was no suggestion of localization of the sibs.

614 771 787 825 On the other hand, the system had no relation whatever to their religious life. Yet this would have been quite possible. The basis of Maricopa religion was dream experience with spirit birds and animals. The spirit dreamed of might well have been one of the totems of the dreamer, yet such was not the case. There is not a single instance of this, and it was quite remote from their minds that one should dream of his totem.

[32] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 461.

[33] *Handbook*, p. 741.

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[787] [196] gwĭdĭcəl'sk, "they have power"; gwĭsĭəi'k, "one has power"; gwĭsiə́', "shaman."

In native theory dreaming was almost wholly unpremeditated. Quite rarely a man visited certain caves in which the spirits were known to dwell in order to induce dreams of them. But there was no such thing as deliberately going out to seek a vision (as distinguished from a dream). In fact, the only vision in a waking state known to my informants (that of the war tale below) came as involuntarily as the usual power-bestowing dream.

463 787 75 Dreams, by reason of their involuntary character, might come to anyone, but the evidence is that relatively few had dreams bestowing songs or the ability to cure, or to foretell or bewitch. Men shamans numbered only five or six at a time and those who bewitched even fewer. There is some question whether women were ever shamans. Similarly, singers, who had their gift by dreaming and were men alone, were a handful, orators even fewer, and there was but one war leader and one chief. The impression was that those who had power never numbered more than a score in the whole community. This does not mean that the rank and file did not have dreams of the same stereotyped sort, since, [753] for instance, falling ill was commonly attributed to dreaming of the dead or of certain plants, and children were born as the result [842] of dreams, but their dreams did not result in power or song. There was a saying that a handsome individual never dreamed of spirits. That, explained Kutox, my informant, accounted for himself!

Professional segmentation among those having power was marked. These individuals were set off from one another by the possession of discrete powers from particular spirits. Thus, Coyote [776] and Buzzard gave power to cure, Eagle power to sing, Mocking Bird to orate, Frog to bewitch. The differentiation was not a quantitative one in the sense of some having more power, of having dreamed of more spirits, although this may have been true of shamans who cured. Dreaming of various spirits very probably occurred, as suggested by the fact that a single individual did dream more than one song cycle. Against this particularism in professional activity is the fact that while Buzzard,

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276 and snatch up bits of wood and stones under the impression they
787 were fish. If he was to be a great warrior, he seized a stick and
828 brandished it, whacking away on a stump. It is not wholly clear that this typifying activity was thought different in nature from the induced dream. A statement suggests otherwise: "they dream how to become good hunters of a particular animal, as jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, or mountain sheep."

Jimsonweed (*Datura*, cmalgapi't, "deaf ear") was used by
276 any man; usually younger men and boys. The inner portion of the root was chewed and swallowed, a decoction of the mashed leaves was drunk, or the latter rubbed on the body. The part of the plant from which the roots or leaves were taken was not prescribed. "They do not eat much: too much will kill them. It makes them crazy: they will not come close to a person, but sneak away." Beyond the fact that young people took the drug, inquiry failed to reveal any specific parallels to the toloache rite of southern California. Nor were thieves detected under its influence as at Zuñi.

778 A deliberate quest for dreams, like the vision-quest of northern
787 and eastern Indians, was rare. My informant knew of only two places, two caves, to which one went to get in touch with the spirits. The first cave, on the western (?) side of the Painted Rock Mountains, was the home of a spirit named kukupu'ʀa (hence the mountains were called his house, kukupu'ʀniva). The nature of this spirit was unknown. One can barely creep through the entrance to this cave; far inside is a large room, and the cave extends indefinitely beyond. "Whenever a man wished to be rich or to become a shaman, or have crops prosper, be a good runner, or have many girls about him," he sat in this room facing the opening and holding his right hand out. He prayed for
[782] what he desired. Then he heard something coming from the rear of the cave: there was a great draught and the sound of a whirlwind. The spirit put something very cold in the man's hand. He clenched his fist tight and crept out. When he reached home,
[785] he avoided fats and salt, "fasting" for four days, and bathing each morning. "Then his wish came true." If the seeker fled
● [753] from the cave in fear, he would become blind and perhaps insane.

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787 ridge of the] Sierra Estrella from east to west, the bird talking all the way without pausing for breath. Then he tries the dreamer. When he too can do this he is ready as an orator.

There is one war leader, the only man who dreams of going after the enemy. When he dies, another takes his place at dreaming this. He dreams of overcoming danger and killing enemies. He dreams only of being successful in his fights. In his dreams he could see certain little flies (kumanyihwi') fighting up in the air. He saw by the way they fought how he should act to be successful in his battles. He also dreams he sees certain cacti (ᵃxu'l), in the form of humans, fighting. When they see he is fitted for his position, the spirit [*sic*] takes him into a large cave inside the mountain in enemy territory. As he enters he sees a club, a shield, and a spear hanging on the walls of the house. Each time he is taken there, they give him a chance to use one of these. He keeps practising until he has used them all. Then he leads his people to war.

787 822 The dream was also patterned on the four-fold division of the night; a pattern which was omnipresent in Maricopa thought. It appeared in the conduct of meetings, in the organization of curing by shamans, in orations to the dying, and in songs. These divisions were named "went down," evening; "old night," the middle of the night (its major part); "nearing," before dawn; and "dawn."[6] Significant dreams occurred at any time during the night according to the following statements, but those that were favorable came only in the middle hours.

When they dream of animals, birds, and insects, the night is as clear as daylight. In the first part of the night, it makes the dreamer kind of wild. The animals and other beings will eat each other. Hence a child is kept awake during [513] the early part of the night, until ten o'clock, to avoid this. In the early evening [855] one has bad dreams.

After sunset, the birds, animals, and even the spirits of trees are moving around, so if you go to bed early you will have bad dreams. In the second part of the night, they have settled down to quiet. Then is the time one will not dream of anything bad. They do not say anything about the third part of the night.

[823] There is a saying that there is a person standing in the west and another in the [827] east, who between them swing the whole world so that everybody sleeps, just as a baby is swung to sleep.

At dawn, the larger birds (eagle and hawk) begin to wake and kill the little birds and insects. Blood stains are everywhere. If anybody still sleeps in this [855] atmosphere, he will dream of bad things. So they wake children and young people before the sun rises.

[753] Toward early morning, before dawn, the spirit birds are fighting and eating [773] each other, all with bloodstains. If one dreams of this he will get sick. That is why people always wake their children before sunrise.

[6] See p. 145.

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It appears quite probable that the blood referred to here is that blood which was released at the time of creation, which is the embodiment of all disease and is ever present in the world about. Most sickness was said to be caused by contact with this blood in "bad" dreams (p. 280), which are here defined as those of the evening and dawn.

There is no explicit account at hand illustrating the effect of this patterning on the dream narrative, but it is implied in descriptions of the content of several songs.

The song il,ica'c, for example, told "of many different things." It told how the little birds or animals of the air are preparing to go to a celebration already under way; how they got there, and how they behaved. It told how, in the middle hours of the night, they thought they should not spend the whole night there, but decided it better to go home, and accordingly how they left the celebration. The song continued that toward morning, those who stayed all night were worn out and sleepy, and how their husbands and children starved in the morning, but how those who had returned had breakfast prepared for their families.

SPIRITS

The spirits of which they dreamed were primarily birds, with some animals and insects, the mountains, certain stars, lightning and thunder, and possibly the rain. Trees were mentioned as having spirits, but that these were power sources is exceedingly doubtful. The number of spirits seems to have been definitely limited, but the basis of their discrimination from those birds, animals, or natural phenomena which were not spirits remains wholly obscure. The question whether the spirits were single individuals or classes seems to have been of no consequence to the Maricopa, hence unresolved. Thus, whether Buzzard was a particular unitary being, or whether the genus buzzard supplied an unlimited number of spirits which functioned alike, was not made clear. The impression is that they thought of but a single spirit Buzzard, of whom the birds of everyday life were but tangible and earthly representatives. This is clearly the case with Coyote, who is Coyote of the creation tales. In the case of insects, flies, gnats, crickets, and the like, these appeared in dreams as a cloud of insects operating in concert. Their plurality proves nothing, since they never appeared individually.

cure it. One who dreamed of Buzzard became a great shaman, with ability to cure the well-nigh lethal wounds caused by Yavapai poisoned arrows (matâ·au', "poisoned," "bewitched"). Duck and Gnat (ʔ unyʲpâwa'pâwa') were mentioned as additional spirit councillors of a shaman who cured such wounds. Further, Buzzard and Coyote conferred clairvoyant power to discover the enemy's position in the mountains and to detect thieves. The power of Jackrabbit and Cottontail was the cure of sickness caused by eating their flesh (jackrabbit at least was forbidden to young people) or of blindness caused by getting their hair in the eyes. They also cured earache. Orange Shouldered Blackbird cured sickness derived from deer,[9] but gave primarily his song, since "the blackbird is a great singer." Similarly, the Deer dreamer was a singer but could cure. Crickets gave the power to cure bewitchment caused by one who dreamed of the constellation Orion's Belt. Shamans who dreamed of crickets used rattles, the sound resembling that of the insect (but see below).

Other spirits bestowed non-curative powers: clairvoyance, bewitching, legerdemain, rain-making, singing, etc. A man who dreamed of Crow became a great thief, of Eagle a great singer. Similarly, the Mountain Killdeer dreamer became a great singer "because the killdeer is a great singer. But Mountain Killdeer is a bad bird. When one who dreamed of him sat down to sing, the whole village was stirred up. Young girls and even married women rushed to this singing, ran off with the singer." Mocking Bird made a man an orator, hence chiefs and battle challengers dreamed of him. A spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n gave clairvoyant power to see who would win a race. Frog gave power to bewitch and to handle live coals: singing the Frog song brought rain. One "who had dreamed of rain" could cause it to fall, which may mean that rain was a spirit. The morning star was conceived as a spirit: it is the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale (p. 396). "A man, when he first dreams to become a great warrior, first describes the morning star. This star has especially to do

[9] The meaning of this is obscure, but recalls the Pima belief that animals cause all or nearly all sickness.

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554 with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, cer-
776 tain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus (*xu'l) figured
787 as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of
[821] Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this constellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which might have been the spirit involved.

776 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers
787 is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds.
811 Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird
825 and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

Other associations depend for comprehension on certain be-
[753] liefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeopathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
[775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
[773] founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coyote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the culture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and ani-
787 mals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured
823 as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered. Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turning away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought especially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella, Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the

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CURING AND BEWITCHING

753 761 787 Illness and death were occasioned in four ways: by bad dreams, by the loss of the soul, by the intrusion of a disease object brought about by witchcraft, and by natural causes, old age and violence.[25] The most common cause was bad dreaming: such disorders as bowel complaints, diarrhoea, colds, pains in the chest and side, were attributed to it. Loss of the soul was also [774] common, but less so: this brought fainting spells. Soul loss was due solely to having dreamed of the dead: dead relatives came to persuade the dreamer to join them. Since these two concepts cover practically all cases, Last Star's declaration was justified that "it was always by dreaming that one got sick."

753 787 Dreaming wrong meant dreaming of certain things, mostly unspecified, contact with which in the dream brought it about that one acquired an illness. These illnesses were forever afloat in the world around. They were the blood, the sum of all dis- [773] eases, which gushed from the ground at the time of creation despite Cipas' efforts to stem it (p. 347). Since bad dreams which caused illness were also defined as those of the evening and dawn, when the spirit birds fought and bloodstains were everywhere (p. 248), it seems probable that this ancient heritage of blood-disease was meant. The acquisition of such illness was not in any way due to spirits, whether by the spirits' own activity or a shaman calling on his familiar to inflict disease. Spirits were con- 756 cerned only in that they had taught each shaman his cures.

The shaman's part in curing was that of one who had the power to draw out the particular illness, because a revelation had been made in his dreams. During the course of the cure he was not possessed, nor did he so much as call on his familiar for aid. [755] He blew, breathed, and sucked on the patient, and brushed with the hand, to allay the fever and pain and to draw the illness from him. But he did not suck out a disease object.

753 It is doubtful that this should be included with the classical

[762] [25] We may remark incidentally that our informants knew of no cases of suicide.

There was no belief comparable to that of the Pima that death was due to Sun and Night (Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 193, 251).

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cases of "illness by intrusion." The illness was thought of as due to the contamination of the dream. Illnesses were ever present, as we might say of pandemic diseases. They had no concrete form to be sucked out as an object. We can hardly speak here of contrasting theories of disease: soul loss *versus* intrusion. 753

The loss of the soul was suggested as the cause only when the symptoms were of one kind, fainting spells; when it was assumed the patient had dreamed of the dead. Such a person would be in apparent good health, when suddenly "he thinks he turns around and sees a dead relative coming, and there! he is dead," i.e., faints. 753 774 787 828

W——, a boy of fourteen, said that whenever he has fainting spells, his dead relatives appear to him; always two or three old men together. They talk to him, saying, "Come on; come along with us." His dead grandfather is the principal visitor. He also said that when a little child, he saw a ghost, dressed in white, seated on the spot where later his uncle was cremated. This ghost kept on nodding her head with its long hair.[26]

Illness and death due to manifest physical causes were regarded as of natural origin, even though the occasion of accident or wounding was held the result of non-physical influences. In answer to the direct question whether natural deaths did not occur, Kutox replied in the affirmative: in old age, but they were very rare (naturally, since few survive to old age). Of them they said "their heart pulls down," 'iwana'l,g. 761 [753]

In all cases it was held that

before a person dies, while he is sick, they say the soul is already gone. During his sickness, his soul wanders in all the places the man has been on his hunting trips. After the soul gets tired, it makes up its mind that it is going to the land of the dead. Then, when the soul goes there, the man dies. [774]

It was not fully specified what things it was dangerous to dream about beyond the conflict of the spirit birds (p. 248), but several plants were mentioned. One called i'icama'c, "root wood," was a vine, which, growing beside a tree, made the tree twist. If one dreamed of this, or went near enough to smell it, he became entirely paralyzed and his body was sensitive to the touch. If this root be placed in the sun, it wiggled; so with the 753 787 [824]

[26] These "fainting spells" are apparently epileptic seizures. This is the lad who as a child could understand the language of dogs (p. 240).

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Yuma Mohave
Halchidhoma

753 787 [756] patient, his limbs twisted. This could be cured by a shaman who dreamed of either Coyote or Buzzard (the informant was uncertain).

[824] Another plant, called i'iuxa's, "scraped wood," caused chills and fever. The shaman never told in this connection of what he himself had dreamed. On diagnosing an illness as due to this cause he secretly dispatched a man of l,ew'c sib for ironwood (axpa'lg) in the morning. A limb was scraped and fashioned into [755] an image of the patient by this man, who at noon suddenly entered and held it close before the patient's eyes. When the latter saw it, he began to cry aloud. Then the shaman proceeded with his cure.[27]

The most dangerous thing of which to dream was kwarao'-kuma'clc, "iron eater." (kwarao' was the name formerly applied to the stone of which knife blades were made, presumably obsidian, now transferred to iron.) The informant knew nothing of this dream object but its name. This disease caused sores, which ate away the flesh and the bone below. A shaman who could cure [756] this had dreamed of a high pile of sand. When a hole is dug into the base of a pile of loose sand, the sand runs in as fast as one removes it. Hence the spirit (what it was is unknown) showed him how to stop it with his hand, which he then knew how to apply to the running sore.

115 756 Curing shamans were relatively few; five or six at any time. There is a question whether women were ever shamans. Last Star declared that there were none known among Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, although Mohave, Yuma, and Halchidhoma had them. Kutox's statement that at any one time there were one or two is probably to be interpreted as referring to the mixed community as a whole or to his own Halchidhoma group.[28]

755 The manner of calling a shaman to cure was stereotyped. An elderly man of the patient's family approached the shaman's house, calling him by the appropriate kinship term. He did not

[171] [27] This is reminiscent of Pima and Papago curing by touching effigies in the Vikita-Navitco complex.

[28] Last Star confirmed Russell's statement that the Pima women shamans specialized on abdominal diseases (*Pima Indians*, p. 261).

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159 755 648 shaman, named katoi', the best of his time. When he arrived, he announced that he cured only at night. That night he cured inside the house; there was no fire. He held his long eagle feathers in his left hand: these were four, bound in pairs to a short wooden handle. In his right hand was his gourd rattle. He sat with these and as he sang, everything was made clear to him. We thought it too dark for him to see, but for him it was broad daylight. I lay crosswise just in front of him. Only my wife was present with us.

As I had such a high fever, the shaman fanned me with his feathers to wave it away. When he had reduced the fever, he could see plainly who had bewitched [754] me. He sang his songs as he fanned. I did not understand clearly, since he sang in Pima, but they were about Coyote. Coyote described the one who had bewitched me, told the shaman. When a spirit thus describes the right one, the patient gets well, but if it is wrong, he dies.

He would bend over me, but not touch my body. He took out what was in me, breathing hard as if swallowing something. Suddenly he jerked away and acted as though he was going to vomit. When he took it out of his mouth, it was a little grain of charcoal. Sometimes it is a little pebble, the size of a wheat grain: it depends on what the seizure is. If a fingernail were thrown into one, the sick man would have cramps [probably paralysis]. When he took this out, he switched his feathers back and forth to knock all the sickness away from me. Finally he told me who had bewitched me and why.

753 774 787 Curing for the loss of the soul was obtained as a generalized description. The loss was due to dreaming of the dead; its symptom fainting or dizziness. A person dreams he is in the land of the dead. If he eats anything given him there, he gets sick. He might dream repeatedly of this, join in the games there, and because it gave him pleasure, dream of it every night. Such a one would faint; then they always sent for a shaman who knew how to treat it. The shaman's procedure was to search for indications 755 774 of the route the soul had taken toward the land of the dead, in order to pursue and capture it. He was one who had dreamed of Horned Owl. Significant of the extent of this type of illness and curing was the informant's statement that "this has often happened and they always tell it this way."

When the shaman neared the patient's home, he stopped from time to time trying to discover which way the soul had been taken, that is, whether by air or along the earth. He circled the locality counterclockwise, which "he says is circling the whole [775] world." The dead were believed to have a path into this world from each of the cardinal directions. But they, the dead, rarely used the east and north roads, which were through the air. South and west roads were along the earth. When the shaman reached

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in it. When the loon (xalyâpu'kc), flying high in the air, cried out, this also announced the advent of "a terrible disease." It was heard just before the influenza epidemic of 1918 which carried off many of their number. The appearance of a comet also betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster. [821]

A young chicken crowing like a rooster was a portent of death in its owner's family. If one's possessions made an unexpected noise, the owner would die. Similarly, if a snake crawled into the house an inmate would die. "The snake says he has come to the funeral."

Before my interpreter's father died, her mother went out one night. She sat down. Suddenly she felt something very cold. Looking down, she saw a little rattlesnake coiled around her ankle. She was too frightened to scream. It uncoiled, crawled a foot or two, and coiled again. She tried to drive it away, but it was dead. Next day a big rattler came to the door and coiled up. It did not rattle before they killed it. Soon after, the man died.

[773]

The tale Dog Champion (p. 396) yields several omens: a skull speaks, a pot cries out, a log groans; all presaging disaster to the Yuma at the hands of the Halchidhoma.

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It was believed that certain actions would bring on sickness: handling a chickenhawk, or anything it had killed; or a boy eating the game he killed. Similarly, if a father ate the game he killed, his child would sicken. (Surely this conflicts with practice.) Arrowheads (those that were found ?) were dangerous to have: the thunder would be sure to strike one who carried them about.[38] Lightning-struck trees were avoided for fear of sickness. If a turtle shell was put over a child it would grow no more.

[821]

In a myth (p. 374) it is noted that killing various desert birds and insects will cause rain to fall: cactus wren, a bird called vitâpana', and tarantula.

[821]
[825]

The prehistoric ruins were believed to have been occupied by a people, who like themselves, were created by the culture heroes. They were called pipainyiko'R, "old people."

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In the mountains to the northwest were the footprints of a giant, who figures in a tale (p. 409). There was no belief in dwarfs or water-babies in the mountains.

[823]
[776]

[38] The Papago also associated them with lightning, believing they are to be found where lightning has struck. They were also used for curing (Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, pp. 111, 180).

[171]

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a man, his favorite horse decorated with paint (or several of them), was staked near by to be killed as soon as the pyre was lighted. The belief was that he could ride one to the land of the dead, packing the clothing, etc., on the others. [764] [775]

While the pyre was burning, an older man (called aume'vă, "fire tender") poked with a long pole, running it under the corpse to let in the air, and pushing the blazing logs over the corpse so that it could not be seen. "For the relatives to see any of the corpse would make them sad." The end post was the last to finish burning. The breast and heart were held to be the last parts consumed.

All this time the relatives were about. Children and elders alike were forbidden to eat or drink. When the body was half cremated and again after it was consumed the speaker delivered an oration. After the pyre had burned to coals, everybody left except the fire tender. This would be early the next morning, e.g, if the cremation had begun early in the night. [262] [537]

When the fire had burned out, four holes were dug close to the heap of ashes, two on the south side, two on the north. Then the fire tender, starting at the west end of the heap, scraped the ashes alternately to the north and south of the center line. He then divided these two piles to the west and east, so as to form four piles. Each was put in its respective hole and covered with dirt. Dirt was also scattered over the whole place. "Then the rain obliterated all signs. It is better that way."

At the funeral of a man who was a singer, the Maricopa (but not the Halchidhoma) had singing and dancing; even the relatives rose to dance. They then returned to cry over the dead. The songs were those the dead man "had liked," i.e., those he had dreamed. The same songs and dance were repeated in their mourning ceremony. 766 533 535

Everything within the dead man's dwelling was destroyed. The objects were thrown into a hole dug beside the house, or sometimes within it. The house was then burned down. This was done because the sickness might have been left in the house, and also, if these articles were left about, the dead, returning, might be seen in dreams and the survivors sicken and die too. They 768 [775] [753]

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754 SORCERY--ideas of the causation of disease and death through witchcraft and sorcery; actual and reputed prevalence of sorcery; motives for practicing sorcery; methods (e.g., bone pointing, manipulation of effigies, exuvial magic, invocation of spirit aids); employment of sorcerers; witches, wizards, and sorcerers; physical, social and mental characteristics; sources of power, training; organization; special types of sorcerers (e.g., werewolves, vampires, individuals with the evil eye); evidence as to the efficacy of sorcery; reactions to sorcerers (e.g., witch hunts); etc. See also:

Ingroup antagonisms 878
Sorcery as a factor in social control 626
Punishment of sorcery. 883
Counter-measures to sorcery. 755
Familiar spirits. 776
Uses of magic other than for the causation or cure of disease. 789

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159 shaman, named ʟatoi', the best of his time. When he arrived, he announced that
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the spot where the dead had come and taken the soul, he had chills if they had gone by the south road. He continued circling until by the fourth circuit the patient's house was reached. Should he fail to find signs of the lost soul, he was certain that it must be halfway to the land of the dead. He then quickly rolled his cigarettes and puffed them into the air. By this means, he sent a flame after them. When they, the dead, saw the flame following, "just like blood coming over," they left the soul and ran off. But they always tried to put the patient's soul in front of them, and told it not to look back. If it did so and saw the flames following, the patient recovered consciousness. "Then they [humans] ask him and he tells what happened."

Curing shamans accompanied war parties to exercise their art. One named wantcâvaʀi′ (Juan Chevereah)[33] dreamed how to cure those who were shot, "so they always took him along to war." He dreamed of Buzzard, Duck (a particular species?, ωḳ′ωḳ), and Gnat (? unyĭpawa′pawa′). When a warrior fell shot, he sang, moving about him with arms and legs stiff. He could cure arrow wounds only. Another Maricopa could cure not only these, but gun, spear, and knife wounds. "He also dreamed of these three spirits, but got more power."

Bewitching was a practice open to shamans, not to everyone. These were shamans, I was told, who had dreamed especially of Frog and Orion's Belt. But a conflicting statement suggests that bewitching was not confined to them. "All shamans could bewitch (matâðau′g). The spirit gives the shaman the choice of curing or bewitching, but the spirit tells him that he will not live long if he chooses the latter." Again, "a man who bewitched others would never try to cure. He would always try to bewitch." The truth seems to be that all shamans made only a partial choice.

The reason assigned for bewitching was jealousy. A handsome person or one who was prosperous was commonly the subject of witchcraft, thought Kutox, who was forever boasting how handsome he had been in his earlier days.

[33] Named as a Maricopa chief by the Mohave and the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858*, p. 207.

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Kohuana

754 [578] [626] A man or woman would not bewitch because of a quarrel: it was on account of good looks or being prosperous. In my case it was because I [Kutoz] always had good wheat and plenty of horses, and I was the first to get a wagon. That is the reason I always get sick. But I have had this man [the Pima shaman above] to take care of me all these years. The only way to keep from being bewitched is to go about quietly and share things with others; be kind.

But apparently a shaman could also be got to exercise his art in revenge, as the following incident implies.

About twenty-five years ago two Kohuana men were drinking in the Papago country. One was an old man of seventy or more, the other twenty years his junior. They quarreled. The younger pushed the elder flat on his back. Every time he tried to rise, the other kicked him in the stomach. The old man died. When his people heard of it, they decided to kill the murderer. All the Kohuana agreed to this except one man. They thought this man might cause trouble if they killed the murderer, so they did not carry out their intention. Much later, when he was over seventy, the murderer got sick, became paralyzed and died. Because of the partizanship of one man, they could not beat him to death. But it is believed that the shamans accomplished his death.

[648] [578] Bewitchment was greatly feared. "We do not trust one another: that is why we had the Pima shaman. Our people do not like to tell who did the bewitching."

683 A malevolent shaman was slain if discovered, "but now the law protects them. They are keeping it up, so we are dying out." If they thought that a shaman made people sick, they agreed on killing him. His relatives would not avenge his death, because they knew he had caused the death of others; "they would say it was all right." Apparently such slayings were rather frequent.

754 The procedure for bewitching was highly stereotyped. A bit of wood was shaped flat and narrow by the malicious person, who notched its edge or scratched lines across it, one for each victim, whom he named as he cut them. Sometimes an owl feather and a bit of charcoal (or recently the head of a match) was tied to it, so that the victim would have fever. Or these were stuffed into a short cane tube. "When he did this, he sat down and talked to the stick just as though talking to a person." He named the number of days until each victim would succumb and how he would sicken. "Sometimes he would say the victim would be sick in two or four days, in a month, or two weeks. On that day the victim knows he is sick." He might also say to the stick that the

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victim should long for a certain kind of food, but the food would 754
make him worse (as was told in the Creation tale of the dying culture hero bewitched by Frog). He then buried it near the victim's house, or thrust it into a corner of the roof thatch, or in a nearby bush. "Then the victim would soon hear an owl hooting nearby, his dead relatives would come, and he would fall sick." If he buried it quietly the bewitched would simply sicken, but if he whirled it on a cord like a bull-roarer, the victim would feel he was spinning about. The stick might also be planted where there had been a cremation.

In this case the sick man will not complain of feeling sick, but sit about as though sleepy. At night he would see and talk with the one cremated at that place. The bewitched would say he was tired out, overworked. Not until he was about to die would he tell of having seen the dead; that he had made up his mind to leave his relatives. Then they would send for a shaman to cure him. But if he made up his mind to die, he could not be cured. If the sick man was cured, the bewitcher might choose to repeat his act until the victim died.

Somewhat different methods were also recorded. The bewitcher might swallow a morsel of coal from a cremation pyre, and breathe hard at the victim, "shoot him with it" ('ȧk,iyă'm, "shooting"). Those who bewitch this way dream of Frog. A man [787]
who dreamed of Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. He would break off a tiny fragment of a stick, or a bit of his own fingernail, and "throw it at a man at a great distance, who would then fall down sick immediately." This was cured by a shaman who had dreamed of Cricket. Hair combings were carefully gathered to be hidden away, lest a shaman use them to bewitch; "make them swallow their own hair."

A few notes were obtained on practical remedies, self-admin- 278
istered for common ailments, such as rheumatism and bowel- 757
complaints. Colds and bowel-complaints were dosed with a boiled decoction of ivusĭ'. The juice of gwĕnmuci'ʀȧ root (a low plant growing in sandy canyon beds) was used as a cathartic. These were boiled, or simply mashed and soaked in water. The treatment for rheumatism (tao'ʀȧm) was to bathe the afflicted part with boiled avĕmȧcȧðer, "rattlesnake afraid" (an aromatic plant resembling rhubarb, but smaller) or heat it in a pit containing coals on which ivusĭ' was thrown. The patient sat with

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was built for the purpose near the house by the husband or other relatives. This consisted of a ridgepole supported on two posts, placed east and west, with willow branches thrust into the ground and bent over to it. The whole was covered with arrowweeds and dirt. It was circular in ground-plan. The lodge had no special name, but like the storehouse was called vana'ʀᴬ. A fire was built within to warm the ground and to heat water.

The expectant mother was helped by her mother and another feminine relative. They would choose a helper whose time of delivery had been brief. If the parturient could not endure the pain, four or five women were called in to assist until the little house was full. They did not sing. Should the case be exceptionally difficult, they thought her bewitched and called in a shaman who could cure this. Then her husband or other male relative would help. There were no internal medicines to accelerate delivery nor for an excessive flow following birth. Some women preferred to give birth unassisted.

A woman of middle age told me that she had borne her five children alone. Her husband, a widower with children of his own, protested that he did not know how to help, but she prevailed on him to heat water, etc., as needed. This was purely a matter of personal preference: she did not like to have the old women fussing over her. She was also aware of the desirability of continuing her domestic labor until the last moment.

It was recognized that births after the first were of shorter duration. In the old days, it was said, a good many women died in childbirth, whereas nowadays not many are lost; which argues for the absence of venereal disease today.

The parturient sat with her back against the western post, because in the tale of the woman who had twins (p. 368), she tried the four directions when her pains began. She said, "A woman who is to give birth should sit against the western post, facing east." A hole made in front of the parturient was filled with sand, which was hollowed a little and covered with a cotton cloth, rabbitskin blanket or other soft thing to receive the baby. She sat with her knees drawn up. A strong woman, standing behind, would put her arms around her, pressing downward and shifting her from side to side. From the time the birth pains began, the parturient was not allowed to drink.